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**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA**

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## PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the previous month. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are dated slightly. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are Eunice Charles, Stephen Cranton, Nancy Drexler, William Eaton, Mary Louise Harmon, Linda Lau, Moses Pinkston, and Rachel Warner. Word processing support was provided by Angela Bloom.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA  
(Received in March 1984)

AFRICA GENERAL

Belfiglio, Valentine J. "The Soviet Offensive in Southern Africa." Air University Review, July/August 1983, pp. 80-86.

An overview of ten major terrorist movements which have emerged in southern Africa since the 1960s, and the Soviet role (or desired role) in each of them. The article focuses on the importance of strong US ties with southern African countries to weaken their incentives for cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Campredon, Jean-Pierre. "L'Action de l'Union Sovietique en Afrique (Soviet Activity in Africa)." Defense Nationale, December 1983, pp. 47-53.

An analysis of Soviet interests and expansion activities in Africa since the Soviet Union's first tentative ties in the early 1960s, including the steps which led to present activities, the methods and means used by the Soviets to achieve their goals, and the results of these efforts.

Henriksen, Thomas H. "The USSR and Africa: Challenge and Prospects." Survey, Autumn-Winter 1983, pp. 261-72.

The author gives an account of the directions Soviet policies towards Africa have taken since World War II, pointing out successes and failures. Khrushchev's attempts to foster "socialist revolutions" through the "national bourgeoisies" did not work. However, the Soviets were highly successful in spreading among African leaders the worldview that Africa's problems were the result of Western neocolonialism. This provided the Soviets an economic entree into the continent, giving them access to Africa's resources. In the 1970s the Soviet Union developed the capacity to intervene effectively in areas beyond Europe, as demonstrated by its involvement in the Ogaden War. Henriksen believes its actions in Ethiopia have encouraged aspiring African politicians to look toward Moscow rather than Washington for help.

King Abdulaziz University, Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs. "Muslims in East Africa." Journal, vol. 4, nos. 1 and 2 (1982), pp. 104-87.

These articles on the Islamic penetration of East Africa are mostly historical and have an obvious bias. They also include some information on the present-day Islamic communities, describing their institutions, the status of their members as minorities, their relations with governments, and the degree of freedom they have to continue the spread of Islam. Titles of the articles are "Muslim East Africa: An Overview," "The Status of the Muslim Community in Uganda," "Muslims in Rwanda: A Status Report," "Bujumbura: Muslim Demographic and Socio-Economic Aspects," and "Islam and Socio-Economic Development: Case Study of a Muslim Minority in Tanzania."

Laidi, Zaki. "L'URSS et l'Afrique: Vers Une Extension du Systeme Socialiste Modial? (USSR and Africa: Towards an Extension of the World Socialist System?)" Politique Etrangere, Autumn 1983, pp. 679-99.

The Soviet Union is now pursuing its African relations on two levels, first by relying on traditional individual state ties and establishing economic cooperation, and second by consolidating ties with certain key countries where a political and military investment in a confirmed Socialist orientation has been made, as in Mozambique, Angola, and Ethiopia. An analysis of Soviet perceptions of these three countries follows.

MacFarlane, S. Neil. "Africa's Decaying Security System and the Rise of Intervention." International Security, vol. 8, no. 4 (Spring 1984), pp. 127-51.

Military intervention in African states by both external and regional powers has increased significantly since 1975. The author cogently argues that this intervention is symptomatic of basic social and economic problems, including political fragmentation, a deteriorating economic situation, and growing regional disparity in military power. By increasing instability, these conditions stimulate intervention, but intervention itself complicates their internal resolution. It is thus likely to continue. Other effects of intervention are an erosion of norms in interstate relations and greater defense expenditures for African states.

Porgieter, H.P. "The Democratic People's Republic of Korea and its Involvement in Africa." Strategic Review, December 1983, pp. 9-19.

A historical look at the development of North Korea's military capability and its international objectives. Examines North Korea's role in training the Fifth Brigade of Zimbabwe and questions whether the North Korean military presence in Southern Africa will assume the same scope and degree of permanence as current Cuban and East European military involvement.

Wiseman, Henry, ed. Peacekeeping: Appraisals and Proposals. New York: Pergamon Press, 1983, 461 pp.

Sixteen articles by various authors. Most are more descriptive than analytical, but the topic of peacekeeping is thoroughly explored. Following a comprehensive overview of peacekeeping in the 1946-81 period by Wiseman, sections address national perspectives, operational considerations, and regional peacekeeping. An article by Nathan Pelcovits on Africa evaluates the Pan-African Defense Force and explores the possibilities of a UN and OAU joint peacekeeping effort for the continent. A concluding section of the book discusses peacekeeping and world order.

#### ANGOLA

Doyle, Mark. "Angola: Meeting the South African Challenge." West Africa, 2 January 1984, p. 12.

Examines Angolan reactions to the South African military incursions into Cunene Province in the beginning of 1984. Traces the military conflict involving UNITA, the SADF and FAPLA forces during 1983.

Doyle, Mark. "Angola: Patience Approaches Breaking Point." West Africa, 9 January 1984, p. 52.

Discusses the new year military attack into southern Angola by the South African army. Highlights the troop movements and death tolls during the incursion.

Wolfers, Michael and Bergerol, Jane. Angola in the Front Line. London: Zed Press, 1983. 238 pp. reviewed in West Africa, 30 January 1984, pp. 212-13.

Provides a detailed account of South Africa's invasion of Angola during the attainment of its independence and the issues involved. Both writers lived and worked in Angola so the perspective is drawn from personal experience and the book is written with sympathy and drama. They discuss the attempted coup in 1977 and the attempts to organize a revolution in adverse conditions.

#### CHAD

Lemarchand, Rene. "Chad: The Road to Partition." Current History, March 1984, pp. 113-16, 132.

An account of the Chad civil war and the present de facto partition of the country. Chad is compared to Angola--effectively divided between warring factions, each having important foreign patrons. However, the Chad situation has progressed to a stalemate. In the conflict, France's options, unlike Libya's, are limited. US intervention, which is counter to French wishes, is assessed as having a negative influence toward a peaceful solution. Diplomatic efforts to end the conflict, involving not only France, and Libya, but also the OAU, are not likely to meet with success, and further conflict will probably occur in the future.

Soudan, Francois. "Cinq Scenarios pour Tchad (Five Scenarios for Chad)." Jeune Afrique, 22 February 1984, pp. 36-39.

Political scenarios for Chad's future are plentiful. Numerous though they are, none can cope successfully with Chad's nemeses: internal divisions and external intervention. The advantages and disadvantages of five possible scenarios are outlined: coalition, UN guardianship, federation, partition, and "a third man." These solutions are hindered by insurmountable obstacles. War is seen as the only real solution.

Soudan, Francois. "Tchad: Le System Habre (Chad: The Habre System)." Jeune Afrique, 29 February 1984, pp. 30-31.

A political and biographical examination of President Hissene Habre's government which claims that the government is dependent on Habre's personal attention. This view is enhanced by the Habre's close friendship with individual ministers, only a few of whom are Southerners. Attempts to amalgamate Southerners into Habre's army are compared to difficulties faced in Zimbabwe with integrating ZANLA and ZIPRA units. As a military leader, Habre remains a guerrilla expert who finds conventional warfare tactics difficult to comprehend. At present, however, building the national army is the first priority; building the nation must wait.

## CONGO

"Strategic Stakes on the Oil Route." The Indian Ocean Newsletter, 3 December 1983, pp. 1-3, and 10 December 1983, pp. 3-4.

The location of the Comoros along the lengthy oil route which ensures half the supplies of the European Economic Community and 20 percent of those of the United States has focused world attention on the country's internal stability. Examined are the coming presidential elections, Libyan and Soviet initiatives, US and South African ties, the French connection, and political leaders and movements.

## ETHIOPIA

Keller, Edmond J. "The Ethiopian Revolution at the Crossroads." Current History, March 1984, pp. 117-21, 137-38.

The author describes various phases the Ethiopian Revolution has gone through since 1974. The most recent phase started when the Derg decided to organize a vanguard party which is to be inaugurated in September 1984. The party was to be democratic and represent all Ethiopians who had suffered under the previous regime. However, it appears the party will be heavily dominated by the military and does not represent ethnic minorities. The composition of the new party's leadership will inhibit the possibility that it will be an agent of national political integration. The author believes the regime's failure to build a party representing all political interests could prove to be its most serious political mistake. Leadership, rather than ideology, will be the most important requirement for the regime's survival.

## KENYA

"Kenya: Tribal Troubles." Africa Confidential, 29 February 1984, pp. 4-5.

Tribal fighting in the North-Eastern Province among Somali ethnic groups has intensified since the 1977-78 Ogaden War. Many Somalis returned to their home areas in Kenya after the war with modern machine guns, transforming traditional cattle raids into warfare. The current drought has put a strain on the water facilities and is further exacerbating tensions. Fighting has flared up between the Degodia and Ajuran in Wajir district and between the Garre and Murille in the Mandera region. Kenya is worried about the spread of the fighting, fearing intervention by two guerrilla groups just across its borders which could lead to involvement by its neighbors. These groups are well armed and trained breakaway groups from the Somali and Abo Liberation Front (SALF). One, based in southern Ethiopia and consisting of at least 2,000 men, is predominantly Degodia and may be tempted to join in fighting against the Ajuran. The other group is based just inside Somalia and consists of 2,000 to 3,000 Garre men. Kenyan forces in the area have been reinforced over the last few months. Government operations in the area in February to try to secure law and order resulted in the death of at least 100 Degodia.

### MALAWI

L'Hoiry, Philippe. "Crise de Systeme au Malawi (Crisis in the Running of Malawi)." Politique Africaine, December 1983, pp. 76-79.

For several months a fierce struggle has been occurring in the leadership. Opposition to the Banda regime, already divided, was shaken by the assassination of Attati Mpakati, leader of the Socialist League of Malawi, and the death sentence imposed on Orton Chirwa, leader of the Malawi Freedom Movement. Simultaneously potential successors are engaged in a deadly struggle among themselves. But the most serious crisis in Malawi is in the economic domain which can only be tackled with the settlement of the succession question.

### MOZAMBIQUE

Radu, Michael S. "Mozambique: Nonalignment or New Dependence?" Current History, March 1984, pp. 101-04.

An assessment of Mozambique's politics, economic performance, regional policies, and background of the internal war being waged by the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR) against FRELIMO, and the effects of all of the above on the country's proclaimed nonalignment. In its relations with South Africa, Mozambique's principal objective is to liberate itself from dependency on South Africa for most of its hard currency revenues. Concludes that Mozambique's economic and military future will most likely suffer from the same problems the country has faced since 1975.

### NAMIBIA

Reed, John. "Frontline Southwest Africa." Armed Forces, February 1984, pp. 59-61.

This the conclusion of a two-part article discusses South African forces in the operational areas of Namibia. Describes the encounters of South African Police units during the mid-1960s and concludes with a description of the SADF and Southwest Africa Territorial Force.

### NIGERIA

Obe, Ad'Obe. "New Men In Power." West Africa, 16 January 1984, pp. 102-4.

A "who's who" in the new Nigerian military government. In addition to individual biographical data, the author notes that there are interesting parallels between this military regime and the last military regime to govern Nigeria. For example, both Brigadier General Buhari and former General Obasanjo are graduates of the British Aldershot military academy. About two-thirds of the present Supreme Military Council used to belong to the former Supreme Military Council, either directly or as subordinate military administrators. Also, most of the new military hierarchy received their commissions in India or Pakistan.



Synge, Richard. "Spending Priorities Start to Emerge." Africa Economic Digest, 2 March 1984, pp. 16-17.

The new military government has had to reprioritize Nigeria's long-term development strategy. Emphasis will be placed "first and foremost" on revenue-earning projects that use local raw materials. The second priority will be schemes in which heavy investments have already been made and which now are nearly complete. Specifically, the liquified natural gas and petrochemical schemes will go ahead despite technical and commercial problems. On the state level, agricultural projects are given the highest priority. It is still too early to tell which of the former development schemes will be terminated, restructured, or postponed.

Ugochukwu, Onyema. "After the Nigerian Coup." West Africa, 16 January 1984, pp. 101-2.

An early analysis of the policy direction to be followed by the new military regime in Lagos. "Nigeria is not about to embark on a revolution." The catchword seems to be "continuity." Although the new leadership likes to emphasize its links to the former Obasanjo military government ("held to be the most effective that the country ever had"), the author cautions the new government to create "fresh ideas." So far the military leadership has acted with considerable deliberation and caution. "Even the police, who almost everyone would like to see purged along with the politicians, are back in arms and manning road checks again."

#### SENEGAL

Agathon (Pseudonym). "La Question Casamance (The Casamance Question)." Africa (Dakar), January 1984, pp. 27-29.

A discussion of Casamance separatism which threatens the stability of the country. Geographical separation and ecological differences plus a lack of transportation infrastructure isolate Casamance from the rest of Senegal, and basic antagonisms between pagan-Catholic Casamance citizens and Muslim fundamentalists also separate the two parts of the country. Reconciliation between Dakar and Casamance may be quite difficult to achieve.

"L'Administration Senegalaise Contre Le Senegal (The Senegalese [Government] Administration Against Senegal)." Africa (Dakar), 15 March 1983, entire issue.

A critique of the state structure which deplores the inability of the government to change. The entire structure is considered all pervasive and parasitic, and the promises hoped for when President Abdou Diouf came to power have not been realized. Hope for improvement is the final message.

## SOUTH AFRICA

Callaghy, Thomas M. South Africa in Southern Africa: The Intensifying Vortex of Violence. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983, 420 pp.

A collection of essays which analyze South Africa's political, economic and military relations with neighboring states. Essays discuss South Africa's attempt to impose a military solution on guerrilla movements domestically and in Namibia, and the history, motivation and aims of the African National Congress. There are also chapters on the South African Development Coordination Conference and South Africa's growth as a regional superpower.

Parker, Frank J. South Africa: Lost Opportunities. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1983, 304 pp. Reviewed in International Security, Winter 1983-84, p. 217.

Examines the current situation in South Africa from domestic and international perspectives, focusing on political, administrative, constabulary, border and territorial disputes.

"The War in Southern Africa." Sechaba, December 1983, pp. 15-25.

A paper written by the African National Congress which was presented at the International Conference in Solidarity with the Front Line States and for National Liberation and Peace in Southern Africa held in Lisbon, March 1983. It details the armed violence in the region since the 1960s and documents South Africa's arms buildup and manufacturing capabilities.

## UPPER VOLTA

Couret, Bernard. "Ouagadougou a l'Heure de la Revolution (Ouagadougou During the Time of the Revolution)." Africa (Dakar), January 1984, pp. 37-38.

Everyone calls everyone else "comrade" in Ouagadougou today, especially small merchants looking for customers. However, selling is difficult and prices are rising. Revolutionary books have replaced older French texts in the new literacy campaign, and anti-imperialist slogans are seen everywhere. People are more concerned about rising costs. The new government alienated the traditional chiefs who had supported it by attacking existing prerogatives at a time when troubles abound, and the Lebanese-Syrian business establishment does not hide its antipathy to the revolutionary government.

## ZAMBIA

Woldring, Klass. "Corruption and Inefficiency in Zambia - A Survey of Recent Inquiries and Their Results." Africa Today, Third Quarter 1983, pp. 51-74.

Concludes that progress toward development and economic reorientation in Zambia are hindered by an inefficient administration and creeping corruption among some high officials and politicians. This state of affairs manifests

itself in every aspect of Zambian life, including the rise of crime, protests, and demonstrations at the university, and internal political unrest.

#### ZIMBABWE

Astrow, Andre. Zimbabwe: A Revolution That Lost Its Way? London: Zed Press, 1983, 254 pp. Reviewed in Current History, March 1984, p. 130.

The author argues that the present government has not made any meaningful change toward socialism. Traces national problems to the capitalist economy inherited at independence and on the limitations imposed on Robert Mugabe's government at the Lancaster House Conference.

Knight, Virginia Curtin. "Political Consolidation in Zimbabwe." Current History, March 1984, pp. 109-12, 135.

Examines the internal problems of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) which is beset by ideological disputes and ethnic rivalries. Discusses the violence in Matabeleland, the defections from the national army, and Joshua Nkomo's role in the dissident activity of the area. Looks at white emigration from the country and the resultant effect on the economy.